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Osborne, Edmund Burke

“What’s the matter with
America--the remedy”...

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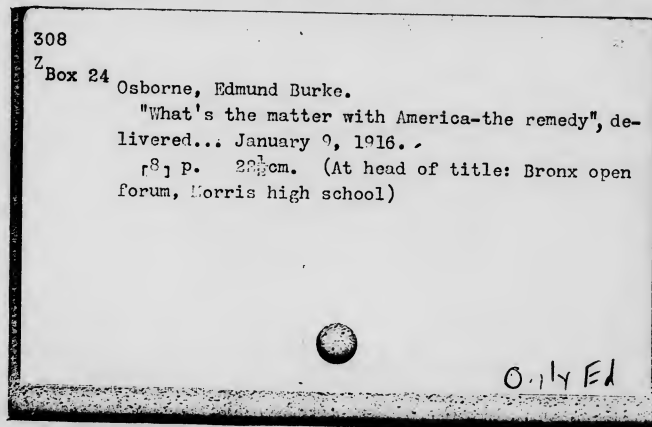
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BRONX OPEN FORUM

MORRIS HIGH SCHOOL

"What's the Matter with America — The Remedy"

Delivered by

HON. EDMUND BURKE OSBORNE

Member State Board of Education, N. J.

JANUARY 9, 1916

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Your Chairman informs me that you are new and that this is only the second week of the Bronx Forum. I congratulate you upon the initiation of a movement that is spreading through America and which is one of the most hopeful movements in America. The open forum movement opens up discussions on subjects relating to the common good, and it occurs to me that it is a matter of hopefulness to the community that you are willing to devote your precious time not to be entertained, but to be instructed and to listen to the contributions to the great body of public opinion.

My subject this afternoon sounds like a rather large order. Probably all the subjects which you will hear as long as this Forum goes on might be grouped under that subject, but I assure you I am not going to speak as long as would be implied by the largeness of the subject. But that is exactly what you are here for. You have organized this Bronx Forum out of your discontent, Mr. Chairman. If things were all well, as say some eternal optimists, ostrich-like, with their heads in the sand, who refuse to see what is wrong about them, if things were all well and there were no reason for discontent, there would be no need for a Bronx Forum, for you would find more interesting entertainment at the movies. You are here because you realize that there are problems to be solved, that we must undertake to solve problems that press upon us, and my purpose this afternoon is to present to you what appears to me to be the outstanding problems in America which challenge our manhood and womanhood—notice I include womanhood—of American citizenship. I am going to try to answer that and I am going to try to point the way out.

It is an easy assumption of optimism that all is well because some people are making a living, and because they are living comfortably, therefore, everything is going well along with everybody else. But if you answer the question for all America, you will find the growing problem of unemployment, you will find the increasing difficulty of a solution of our social problems for a larger and larger number of Americans. Some twenty odd years ago, in the campaign of 1896 in Iowa, I remember that I was an optimistic young man just starting in business and just as ready to take railroad freight rebates as I would take anything else. In college, we never discussed the morality of railroad rebates, or rather, the immorality. I remember when William J. Bryan came to my town like a conquering hero, and he made his great, I should say, illogical appeal to discontent. I was getting along very well and I thought it was

very bad speech, and when he announced that famous epigram that "in America the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer," I did not believe him because I was not getting poorer, because I was getting a little richer, and I did not believe him because I lived in a high-grass town all my life and did not see the evidence of it, and I thought it was an appeal to discontent. I still believe Mr. Bryan to be as illogical as I thought he was then, with all the splendid contributions he has made to American life, and as the boys of the street say, "You have to hand it to him for that." He has been open and he has been courageous, and I have come to the conclusion that what he said then was exactly true, not in all, but in most cases the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer. This I take it he meant and believed, and this I take to be true, that in this country the power of property is steadily growing greater, and speaking of a mass, men who possess riches, as a whole, are growing richer at a much rapider rate than the small ones are growing well-to-do, and the hopeless poor ones are growing bigger. That I put up to you as a part of your problem, and now I shall get to my subject.

"What is the Matter with America?" There are just two big outstanding things in America that are fundamental, and that, as far as I am able to understand, include all of the ramifying difficulties, the lesser difficulties which constitute the problems that challenge American statesmen and American Sociologists. These are the two. First, that a high percentage of our American citizenship is so inadequately educated, so badly trained, that they are not able to pull their own weight in the boat, that they are not efficient, and that they have proportionately no chance for the happiness which ought to be the lot of every man. The first problem then is this, the inadequacy and the ineffectiveness of American education and the training of the youth. I just want that to settle in your minds. If you get this picture in your mind, as I have it in mine, you will see the work to be done between meals; we all have our business to do.

What do I mean by that? I mean this, that the average American citizen is not well educated. I don't mean that he is not well cultivated; I am not concerned about that. I say, in the sense that education ought to be a preparation for life and for work primarily, that a very large percentage of American citizens have no adequate teaching and training which fits them to earn a living. We are still traveling over the line of the English obsession as to what constitutes an education. Originally in England they conceived that education was principally to teach the sons and daughters of the Englishman how to occupy their station in life, and primarily it was culture that they were taught, and it was grafted on our tree of education. And today with all the hopeful signs of manual and vocational training, the emphasis is on the other foot, the education that we are giving is primarily, I believe, and predominantly designed for culture. I submit this, that we have got to shift this emphasis to the other foot.

What is the most important thing about a boy or girl? Is it to speak with a certain inflection or that he shall know how to enter the parlor properly or shake hands in an impressive manner? Is it manners? The very first thing necessary is to teach him so that he can pull his way in the boat, because he has no chance for happiness unless he can make a living. Isn't that the first charge on education? Incidentally comes culture, and the right kind of education will give the necessary amount of culture to the average man. We have got to shift the emphasis from the culture side to the utility side. I think that in comparison with the efficiency of the German schools, we have scarcely begun.

But not only have we got to have vocational training in handiwork in the school so that when they go outside the school rooms to make a living, these thousands of people, governed by adequate laws of supply and demand, whose parents don't know life, who have had no chance, have got to be guided so that their ability can be used in the best way, guided to the work that they can do best, and furthermore, to the work that we most need. I hear that in America, there are three times as many physicians as are needed, and that there are ten times as many lawyers as are needed. You seem to be amused at that. Do you count the question and do you think that we ought to have more lawyers? I may say that there are too many lawyers in this country. I may ask parenthetically: How many lawyers in this city have enlisted for the common good, as the good soldiers enlist, how many have said that they wanted to enter the fight to serve justice and

humanity, and to be of service instead of exploiters? I have heard their number is not superfluous.

Do you know what we would do for America if by some legerdemain, some miracle, we could bring it about that every American citizen would receive real training, real development of his faculties, and then would be guided into the work which was best for him? Wouldn't that be a wonderful thing and wouldn't that work a very wonderful transformation in American life? I just love to show how important is this thing we call education.

We are told that we must not allow politics to enter the schools nor the schools to enter politics, but all the hope of the schools must depend on politics. Back of the school is the director, and back of the director you find the men who may have been nominated through politics, and back of them is very often the ballot box. You will not get any better schools than you get politics.

Half of the problems of America would be solved if we could get out of the schools efficiency and adequate training, if we could ennoble the teaching profession to the point where it will be rated in the community as one of the most important businesses in the world. We are told that vigorous, virile men do not go into the teaching profession. I tell you that you must realize that if we are going to have young men and boys trained properly, you have got to have vigorous, manly leaders, and we need our big, far-visioned, capable men to go into teaching. There is no finer business in the world than the profession of school teaching if the men who are in it do not try to simply get all they can out of the world, but try to give what they can in service and sacrifice.

There is one thing that I want to say about school teaching. We will not accomplish what we want if our civilization merely takes our boys and girls and trains them mentally to be very acute and very alert and very efficient to get things for themselves. If we are going to have a criminal in society, you don't want to arm him with a revolver, you don't want to arm him with a knife. If education is going to take these girls and boys and make them fine-edged tools to turn against society, we had better keep those criminals ignorant, hadn't we? I call your attention to a very grave defect in our public schools. Here and there, men and women realize that the business of the school is the making of citizens, but the schools are teaching branches, they are doing their prescribed work. We are not giving moral education in the home. A large number of people do not come under the influence of Church, with the fundamental moralities in any wise. We have got to make it the business of the common school to take the boys and girls and make them well-rounded and developed men and women and citizens. They have got to be developed morally. We have got to give them the moral sense. We have got to assume that the home is not doing its best work. I know the home is in very large degree not capable. They may repeat, "Thou shalt not lie," and "Thou shalt not steal," but how many are the people who say, "Thou shalt not get anything for nothing?" It is much more important that a boy shall not be a liar than he should be a top-notch mechanic. It is more important that he should hate improperly gotten wealth, it is just as important that he hate a legal as an illegal theft, it is just as important to make him think that as it is to teach him not to tap tills. I cannot elaborate on that. I merely leave that thought with you. I think it is only necessary to give you a glimpse of the thing to make you realize that we are not doing what we ought to give a sound moral basis to our American citizenship. That is the challenge to our schools.

Now, just stop and think a minute, think how different America would be, how little use we would have for pauper houses and for alms houses and for jails and for soup houses and bread lines and these charity organizations, (which I hope sometime we may be able to abolish), think how little use we would have of all of them if we could get a generation of children individualized, watched by expert men and women teachers in small classes, steered morally to hating ill-gotten wealth and to hate deceit. All those things you can do with the plastic mind of a boy or girl. I say you would have a revolutionized America if you could do that thing.

I assure you, my friends who think that politics are not nice,—and we have got them in New Jersey, too, men with college diplomas and men who are rated in Bradstreet's or Dunn's,—who think that politics should be left to the other fellows—I submit to you that everything that can be done in the

world by an adequate, effective system of education, all that depends upon political action, and it depends upon your participation, your intelligent, unselfish, patriotic participation in the politics of the Bronx right here.

But do you know in 1860, when we had four million black men in servitude in the South, if somebody had come along and passed a law requiring that every negro child should be given a college education and a clean shirt every day and a porcelain bath tub and have nice plate-glass windows in his cabin, and still left him in slavery, what would your education have amounted to? Do you think it would have made the Blacks much happier? I submit that because there is a realization in this country that as the thing, we call civilization, advances, a larger and larger percentage of our American men and women live in such a hopeless state that it closely approaches the condition of servitude in slavery, that condition of affairs in which some men take the fruits of other men's labor, leaving them a bare subsistence. There is growing steadily in this country, there is coming a larger and larger class of men who have no hope of having more than a bare subsistence. I think we ought to rebel at that.

The problem is the half, the inadequate training and education of our American youth, and the answer is a system of education which spends the money and furnishes the experts to give adequate, well-rounded training, intellectual and moral, not religious, because you never can take religious training into your public schools. I may say, parenthetically, that there are good folk who object to teaching morals in public schools because they think it will be too much mixed up with religion. I have known a great deal of religion that had no morals in it, whatever, and there is a great deal of moral teaching that need have no religion in it. There is no conflict, in my judgment, between the teaching of morals and the teaching of religion. The one must be kept out of the public schools, and, in my judgment, it is absolutely imperative that the other be put into the schools and be administered scientifically. That is my answer to the first half of the problem, the inadequate and incomplete educational system, which sends a high percentage of our children forth inefficient, morally malformed and morally undeveloped.

There must be a system of education which specializes and individualizes the boy and the girl, with enough teachers and with enough money so that they are guided through their work, and so that we have done everything we can do to make well-rounded and developed manhood and womanhood. I have got a boy in a school where the pupils in the classes number about ten, and he is there because I think he can do better work there and will make a better workman, and he is doing very good work. That doesn't interest you. I merely say that the individual attention is making the school effective, and it is a high-priced school because they cannot do that sort of thing cheaply. In a democracy, the child of the poorest man ought to be provided with schools as good as the child of the wealthiest man can buy for any price. I am through with half of my speech, and I am afraid I have taken more than half of my time.

The other thing that is wrong with this country is this, that in spite of the thing we call civilization, in spite of labor saving machinery and greater progress, an increasing percentage of the people who do the day's work do not get the fruits of their labor, but the increasing fruits of their labor are taken away from them by the powers of privilege. I mean the power of legally getting "something for nothing." The second-story man who comes into your house and creeps through the window, puts a gun at your head and eloquently commands you to dig under your pillow and hand your wallet containing twenty dollars to him, he is not practicing privilege, he is a criminal. The crime is that you have had twenty dollars of your hard earned labor taken away from you, which will never come back. Now, that is a crime, but if a gentleman, who by the grace of God, runs the coal fields of Pennsylvania, and by the control of the railroad facilities—the neck of the bottle through which the coal runs—sells you a large amount of coal, and by his manipulation, the price of coal is increased twenty dollars within ten years, and you are, therefore, taxed twenty dollars, it is a perfectly legal action, but the twenty dollars are gone just the same as in the case of the gentleman who with his gun persuaded you to hand it to him.

I say that we in America have occasion to give much greater concern to the "something for nothing" game that is going on by

gentlemen who do not wear masks than we need to in the "something for nothing" game that is going on by gentlemen who wear masks and snatch purses in the dark, and in the daylight, in crowds. They are not the big problem. The big problem is legal, and our big job as American citizens is to make the "something for nothing" game illegal from top to bottom, for whenever anybody gets something for nothing, no matter how gentle or courteous or legal the process, somebody gives up the something and gets the nothing. Wherever they succeed, if they succeed in the manipulation of railroads and coal in taking one hundred millions of dollars out of anthracite, it doesn't come down from the blue sky. It comes from the pockets of the people who do this work in America.

Do you think it is good for us? That is the other side, privilege is the other proposition. Let me give you an illustration. I want to make clear that privilege is not an abstract thing. I put this proposition, that in spite of our advanced civilization, things are not better. I think I can demonstrate that. They ought to get better. A man with experience who has learned a good trade at thirty, and by pinching and saving, if he is sober and industrious, his life gets richer and better and he can provide more generously for his family and more for his own old age. If one hundred of us went out to Arizona, or say one thousand, suppose we went out into the desert and we formed an economic community there. We made roads and we dug irrigating ditches and we let water run through them, like the Pilgrims did. The first year would be hard and the second year would be better and the third year would be still better. Now, I ask you this (just think hard and tight, if you please), don't you think it ought to get better as we gain in experience? Ought not old communities be better than new communities? Ought not life become richer year by year for all the members of that community? Do you vote yes? I agree with you that it ought to, and I tell you that it doesn't.

You would not be very long in that community before things would get better if you could preserve the original status of it, if everybody had to work, if everybody had the opportunity to work, and if everybody got all the fruits of his labor. And don't you see that as soon as you find in that community in Arizona a man who doesn't work, then the others have got to support him. That isn't perfectly clear. As the civilization grows, we find more and more people who don't work, some, at one end of the scale, in the almshouses; and some, at the other end of the scale, in the mansions. Let us not be peeved at those people who live in the mansions because we are all trying to get there, and yet we can figure out what is good for society, we can play the game according to the rules, and forgetful of our self-interests, say, "How are they working out for our brethren, are these good rules?"

The fact is that according to this theory, that is developing from what we are talking about this afternoon, in England there ought to flower the best citizenship and there ought to be the best opportunity for a child born poor to grow up to independence and to efficiency, and to provide for his children and for independent old age. I say that ought to be the best place for that kind of children to be born. I call your attention to the fact that it isn't; it is the worst. The worst place in all the realms in which the English language is spoken for a child to be born in poor, is London, old England. And I submit that the next worst place is along this great Atlantic Coast that was occupied by our Dutch and Pilgrim ancestors. I didn't get that out of a book. I have lived all my life in America. The next worst places are the Alleghenies and the Middle West, and the further you go, the better off you are. Do you know, from my own native Iowa, which is as fertile as the valley of the Nile, one hundred thousand people have left and gone West? Do you know why Horace Greely said, "Go West"?

Here are millions right here exchanging their work; here it is but natural for a man to market his labor among other things. What is it that reverses our rule of civilization? Why, it is just exactly this, that in these old countries instead of profiting by experience and making life richer and greater for the average child, it is the worst ever and just naturally and instinctively, the virile things again and again have been removed further west and further west all these years. It is because when the Pilgrims and the Dutch came, they all worked every day, as the English say, every one "did his bit," and there was the exchange of work. Before very long, there were people that did not work. The older the community, the larger the number of people who do not work.

but ride on the backs of the people who do work. Now, I want to make clear that it isn't theory, that is fact. How do they manage it?

The power of getting a living without work is privilege. Getting "something for nothing" is privilege. There are two great privileges in America which contribute to the "something for nothing" game. First, the private ownership of the great natural monopolies of the country. If I own a sidewalk that you have got to walk over to your place, I have got the power of taxation over you. If I have got a sidewalk that you have got to go over and I can fix the price, then that is the power of taxation, or if somebody else can fix the price, he is called the regulator, then I am going to try to catch the regulator and regulate his regulation of me. Wouldn't you do that? If you owned the subways, and a McCall or a Wood was the regulator, wouldn't you try to regulate the regulator? You have had it demonstrated that it can be done, quite an ample, sufficient demonstration. The whole problem of regulation is right there, and the demonstration of Mr. McCall or Mr. Wood will go on as long as we have private ownership of these monopolies, whereby you pay more money for the use of them. In other words, whereby they can tax you more. The private ownership of railroads, trolleys, subways, electric light, gas, telephones and telegraphs are the power of taxation. You may regulate and you may mitigate, but they will capture the regulations, as they have succeeded in doing, and they will always be the power of taxation, and through that avenue of privilege that has always been one of the great profits of America.

Foot up the American fortunes, the Vanderbilt, the Morgan, the Gould, the Carnegie and the Rockefeller fortunes. You know them. You think Mr. Rockefeller's fortune was made in oil, and it was, but the oil came through the railroads. Don't kick Mr. Rockefeller. You would all do the same. Talk about the system that made Mr. Rockefeller. But Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan and Mr. Frick and Mr. Carnegie did not make their fortunes directly through the railroads; they made their fortunes out of the commodities which were controlled by the railroads. There again is the neck of the bottle; it doesn't make any difference how eloquently it spreads at the top or at the bottom; you cannot get in it any more than will go through the neck. The fortunes I have named would not exist in their present huge proportions if there had been Government ownership of railroads.

What is the answer? When you get Government ownership of railroads, you won't make any more fortunes of that kind. The powerful men like Frick and Carnegie and Morgan will always come to the top and get great wealth, but just in proportion as you reduce the opportunity for privilege, there will be great wealth of social service, service to the people.

It was discovered a year or two ago that the Brady fortune amounted to one hundred million dollars, made out of the manipulation and exploitation of public utilities. Now, I am not one of those who believe in waving a red flag and denouncing Mr. Brady. If Mr. Brady had been you and you had a chance, you would have done it within decent limits. What you have got to do is to change your system. As you know, without enumerating them, a very high percentage of great swollen fortunes are in the hands of patricians, huge and menacing. Would it not have been better if this country had built and owned its own railroads, as they built and owned the Panama Canal?

As I said, there are two privileges. That is the first of the very great privileges which takes enormous amounts out of the pockets of the community and puts it into the pockets of a comparatively few individuals. The other great privilege is the power which the owners of the land have taken to increase in value the land created by the entire community. The other unearned fortunes are the land fortunes in America. Here in your city for the last twenty years, I have read of a gentleman who was formerly called Astor, who is now a Baron of Hever in England. You think so highly of this gentleman that you have contributed to him, living there, between twenty and thirty millions. I wonder if you did it because of the community affection and respect you have for the Peer from America. That is the other great privilege of America.

I just want to cite one little illustration of that. We talk about whether things are getting better or getting worse. I have an illustration that I want you to consider. Thirty-five years ago I was earning my living on a farm. There is no special merit in that and I don't cite it as an indication of heroism

—I wanted to get out of it—I merely cite that as an incident. I got on the farm in Iowa in the pioneer days sixteen dollars a month and board and wash. Now, the test of every community, whether it is a good community, whether it is getting better or worse in each generation, is judged by the young folks, whether they will be able to strike out for themselves, to have their own stores, to have their own shops, to have their own offices. The land I worked on was worth then from thirty to thirty-five dollars an acre. That doesn't mean anything, but this is what means something. Two months time of my labor saved up could buy an acre of land, and that is the way the great farming community of the West was built up. When a man went to work there, after a few years, he could save enough to buy a span of horses and to rent an "adie." (I wonder if you know what an "adie" is, in the Bronx?) After three or four years, he could save enough so that he could buy an "adie" on time, giving a mortgage for it. I was out there in Iowa a few years ago, I was a human being beside some other human beings, and just naturally the first thing I asked was, "What are you paying the hired men?" "We are paying them thirty-five dollars a month." That looked to me like a splendid advance in my old profession. (And by the way, it wasn't such a bad profession. There was no Union, but we had an eight-hour day, the farmers were good-hearted, eight hours before dinner and eight hours after. If we were very good, we were allowed to attend the circus without losing time, and a day at the County Fair.)

I said to them, "What is your land selling for?" And one of the old fellows, who was still there, said, "Osborne, this land when you were here was only worth thirty dollars an acre. I tell you this land is now worth one hundred and fifty dollars an acre and some two hundred dollars, and I am not exaggerating, because we have been offered it and refused to sell." Didn't that look as if it were coming up beautifully, in ratio, from thirty dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars an acre? All this prosperity was merely superficial, for the higher property increases in value, the worse it is for the hired man. This did not occur to me then. I did not think anything about it until I had gotten away from Iowa, and for several weeks, I did not attempt to establish any case.

It meant that already better roads had come and better schools and banks and interurban trolleys and all the facilities of life. Why, do you know, when we had to churn, we had to do it like that (indicating) or else have a dog help. When I was a small boy, when the dog was not there, I had to do it. And today they use a centrifugal churn and they use the latest scientific methods and electric lights, and everything showing progress and advance on the farm? Now, what has happened?

I submit to you that we are just concerned with one kind of a man: when we are talking about the advance of a race, we are talking about the millions who are born poor and who have to struggle to independence. What has happened to the hired man? Two months of his labor used to buy an acre of land. Today his wages are doubled, but the value of the land has quadrupled and sextupled. Some people say that he gets so much more, but the Lord isn't giving him any more months or years on earth.

In these years, we have increased the value of God's land, which was given to all the people with the air, we have increased the value of lands in America by billions and billions of dollars, and given those billions and billions of the people who owned the deeds. I don't object to the people who own the deeds taking them. I call your attention to it, as thoughtful citizens, and I say that it is a foolish, unwise system to create wealth by the community and give it to individuals. Why should you have a system which makes a Baron Astor, living on the Thames at Cliveden in great luxury and able to pay an income tax of half a million pounds to the British Government, all soaked up in the real estate of New York, the value of which you people have made? Why should you do it that way? Because you always did it that way.

You are very happy in this day of victrolas and typewriters and automobiles, this age of wonderfully improved machinery. It is a wonderful tribute to the genius of the American mind. But did you ever stop to think where it is all going to? Is bread any cheaper than it was thirty or forty years ago? Let me tell you something. When I first went to work on a farm at the age of twelve years for the munificent sum of eight dollars a month and board, that summer I landed on the farm just before the cradle had disappeared, and with the crudest form of hand labor, we did the work

(Indicates by gestures.) Before the work was done, we had to use an army of men. This summer I was in California and I watched the work being done there on a farm. Instead of multitudes of men, there came along just one machine, and it cut off the tops of the heads, it threshed them and stacked them and measured them and got them ready for market. You see what an immense saving there is in labor, probably the work of thirty men cut out.

What is the object of it? That poets may sing of American invention, and the newspapers may write articles on progress, and optimists may go on talking about what a great people we are. Is that the object? The object of labor saving machinery is to make bread cheaper, and if it doesn't make bread cheaper, what is the good of it, save from the standpoint of the Harvester or Machinery Trust? Well, now, is bread cheaper? And if you can look back forty years and can recall the price, I don't think you will be much impressed with the thought that bread is cheaper. You don't have to look for a Government book with statistics.

What has happened with all this labor saving machinery? I think I can tell you authoritatively, and you won't have to look up any authority. Here is where it has gone to. The owners of the land have chiefly absorbed it. As I said, the land I was working on was worth thirty dollars an acre, and you see that corn and oats and wheat had to sell at a price that would yield two hundred dollars an acre, the corn and oats and potatoes must sell at a price that will yield interest on the one hundred and fifty or two hundred dollars, and enough, too, to enable the owner to live in town. Don't you see where your labor-saving machinery is? It isn't any academic thing, the land has absorbed in its increased price the advantage which has come to American invention and through American invention. You are not buying shoes any cheaper now, but the land of New York has gone up and the land of the Atlantic seaboard has gone up.

What do we want? We will have the millennium when we have this state of affairs, when there is work for everybody, when everybody has to work, and when everybody who does work gets all the fruits of his labor and none are taken away by privilege.

The two great privileges that are absorbing an increasing share of labor are the private ownership of the great public utilities—the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street cars, electric light, gas and water power, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, the power of the private owner of the land to take for himself the increase in value which is created by increasing population.

What is the answer? Abolish private ownership of all these great utilities and operate them as service institutions, not exploiting institutions, for the benefit of all the people instead of simply the investing class. And the answer on the land question is this, a very simple answer which we have learned, and they have begun to apply it in Canada and New Zealand and in Australia: instead of punishing by taxing the products of men's thrift and industry, take the taxes off of industry, from furniture, etc., quit punishing industry, and put all the taxes, except the necessary port taxes and some franchise taxes, on the land. Then the people will take in taxation enough each year to practically absorb the increase in the value of the land, and instead of making the land owners rich, it will keep land low in price.

But there are the huge fortunes which have been inherited during the era of privilege. The answer is a graded inheritance tax (stop an income tax which taxes industry and thrift), not primarily for the purpose of raising money, but of redistributing the wealth of the nation and rewarding the industry and thrift of all the people.

There are my answers. They are rather crude and rather hastily thrown together, but carefully thought out; I insist upon that. I don't have time to prepare addresses, so I just have to think aloud. There is my answer to what is wrong with America, and not the remedy, but the remedies, and I submit, my friends, that if we put over that job, if we abolish the private ownership of the great natural monopolies, if we put into effect land-value taxation, if we establish a tax for the purpose of dispersing great wealth, we will have the millennium at our door. Then we will have plenty of money to support it with, then we will have plenty of money for the right kind of an educational system so that the poorest children can secure as good an education as the son of the richest man can buy.

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